1: Pelzer S-5 (1940-1941) 1945 AL1 Southeast Asia AL 1

estation is not a discovery of Western-trained scientists but has long been practiced by certain groups in Southeastern Asia. It was the plan of the government to spread and enforce this practice of artificial reforestation wherever advisable. This practice, whereby the cultivator determines the vegetative cover during the fallow period instead of abandoning the ladang to chance growth, brings him to a transition stage between shifting cultivation and permanent cultivation. From there the step to permanent cultivation with crop rotation is but a short one.

Permanent cultivation requires repeated tilling and therefore more labor and tools than the shifting cultivator is accustomed to. Work animals are also desirable. An important obstacle to intensification of agriculture in wide areas of Southeastern Asia, however, is the fact that hill and mountain regions [up to about 1500 meters in elevation] are frequently infested with malaria so that the energy of the people is greatly reduced.[45] Moreover, the acquisition of such implements as plows, harrows, and hoes, and especially of work animals, calls for financial resources or credit, both of which the average shifting cultivator lacks. Some shifting cultivators do own livestock, such as cattle or carabaos, but utilize neither their labor nor their manure. Groups of the Mois in the mountains of Annam have carabaos, but they do not use the animals in their agricultural activities because they "cannot talk" to them.[46] On the Lesser Sunda Islands livestock is kept because it gives social prestige to the owner. Overstocking of the pasture areas on these islands has led to overgrazing and has cut into the forest area until there has developed a scarcity of land suitable for ladang cultivation. The same has happened in large areas in Africa. There it has been necessary to teach the native peasant the use of cattle and make him familiar with the plow. This was done successfully in northern Nigeria by combining the animal husbandry of the nomadic Fulani with the indigenous shifting cultivation of the Hausa peasant, thus developing "a system of permanent farming whereby a man with cattle of his own, say two working oxen and a few cows, can plough and maintain in fertility an area of land sufficient to supply all the requirements of himself and his family, and to obtain a surplus balance as a return for his labour. . . . Thus mixed farming represents a gradual evolution from the shifting methods of cultivation to a static type of agriculture, by the introduction of animal husbandry, and with the use of animal cultivation."[47] Above all, the peasant learns to preserve the animal manure and

a shade tree; *Dolichos lablab* L., a climbing herb which is valuable as a vegetable; *Crotolaria anagyroides* H.B. and K., a bush of vigorous growth which attains a height of from 12 to 14 feet and forms an excellent green manure; *Tephrosia candida* DC. and *Tephrosia vogelii* Hook., low shrubs useful as green manures; and *Mimosa invisa* Mart., a leguminous creeper which suppresses grasses.

[45] Gourou: L'utilisation du sol, 1940, pp. 181 and 350.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 354.

[47] King: "Mixed Farming in Northern Nigeria," 1939, p. 271. See also Faulkner and Mackie: West African Agriculture, 1933; and by the same authors: "The Introduction of Mixed Farming in Northern Nigeria," 1936, pp. 89–96.

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Chapter III

THE SEDENTARY CULTIVATOR

Sedentary, or permanent, cultivation of land is much more vital to the economy of the countries of Southeastern Asia than is shifting cultivation. The majority of peasant cultivators obtain their livelihood by tilling the same piece of land year after year. The continuously utilized arable land, however, is not all cultivated in the same way throughout Southeastern Asia. We may distinguish three main categories of arable land: garden land, surrounding the houses and villages; wet land; and dry land. These three classes of land are devoted to different crops and vary so much from one another in size and reliability of yields, and therefore in value that in Java, for example, the social status of a man depends upon the type of land that he cultivates. There are districts in Java where only those peasants who own wet land, houses, and garden land have the full rights of a villager.

The Garden Plot

Garden culture on land surrounding peasant houses in Java is devoted to a large variety of crops, ranging from fruit trees to plants that are not required in large quantities but only to supplement the diet and add flavor to the daily rice meal. Ochse and Terra, who have made exhaustive studies of garden culture, are of the opinion that it is a remnant of "primitive grainless hoe culture," in which all the useful plants found in the forest were concentrated in plots near the dwellings. Originally, the number of plants grown in the garden was greater than it is today, for some plants have been taken out of this economy to be grown on a larger scale in fields. The origin of garden culture explains, according to Ochse and Terra, the truly amazing variety of plants that are found on garden land.[1] Sollewijn Gelpke, a leading expert on native agriculture in Java during the past century, remarked on the richness of the gardens:

> Whoever strolls around a compound and takes things in with a botanical eye will see before him a variety of plants of which the uninitiated can have no conception. . . . Such wealth of vegetation is still more impressive to him who approaches it from an economic point of view. He sees palms, bamboo, bananas, and other trees that resemble each other closely, bearing fruit and giving support to various climbing plants.[2]

Often one is able to distinguish three levels, or stories, in a garden. The ground story consists of low-growing plants, especially tuberous plants that tolerate shade, such as elephant yam (*Amorphophallus campanulatus* Bl.), white arrowroot (*Maranta arundinacea* L.), "purple arrowroot" (*Can-*

1 Ochse and Terra: "Het onderzoek," 1934. See also Terra: "De voeding der bevolking," 1932, pp. 552–593.

2 Sollewijn Gelpke: Naar aanleiding, 1901, p. 203.

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this was a policy which the British neglected to pursue with any conviction, and the post-war experiment in this direction, the Malayan Union, was abandoned at the first sign of opposition. Unless a true 'Malayan citizenship' can be made effective, the ideal of a Malayan nation forming, as it were, a buffer State between China, Indonesia, and India, with bonds with all three but belonging to none, will remain a phantom.

In the present crisis the great and deplorable weakness of the Chinese in Southeast Asia is the absence of effective leadership (and the few notable exceptions to this generalization do not affect its truth). This is due in large part to the fact that there has grown up no Chinese middle class of sufficient proportions to provide disinterested, well-educated, and competent individuals in the numbers needed to guide their community through the reefs of politics towards a safe anchorage. The business leaders are so busy making money (or endeavouring not to lose it) that few of them have time to devote to public affairs even if they had the will and the knowledge. In Malaya, at least, the Indian stands in sharp contrast to the Chinese, and in Singapore Indian representation on the various bodies is vastly greater in proportion to their numbers than is the case with the much more numerous Chinese. This is not explicable solely by Chinese political pique but must be due largely to the training in politics and administration the Indians received in their own country during the British Raj. In Malaya, Indonesia, and Indochina the British, Dutch, and French have neglected to afford opportunities for the Chinese residents to acquire a knowledge of affairs. The penalty of this neglect is that now, when European control is loosening, the mass of the Chinese have few leaders to take control and to consolidate their community in face of the Communist advance. The lack of experience and education determines also the quality of the Communist leadership in these regions. Among the Malayan Communists are no Mao Tse-tungs or Chou En-lais and scarcely any individuals with more than the rudimentary mis-education obtainable in Chinese vernacular schools. The result is that the old professional bandit (always a feature of Malaya's jungle-fringe) is more prominent than he would otherwise be, and terrorism is unmitigated by constructive politics. Is it, therefore, strange that in 1949 the majority of Nanyang Chinese were 'sitting on the fence' awaiting the final upshot in China and its repercussions overseas? In such